/98 cont./

587 [589] [836] [765] A widow has freedom of sexual intercourse. There is no definite period of mourning for her deceased husband and she may remarry at any time, except that she must have the approval of the brothers of the deceased husband. If either the elder or the younger brother of the deceased wishes to marry the widowed sister-in-law, then she may not marry an outsider. Otherwise she returns to her family to marry again. At the time of the second marriage a sorcerer priest is also asked to perform the ritual. There is no go-between nor a formally set date. At the wedding the "shame-covering parasol" must be opened fully. On reaching her new husband's home she enters by the front entrance. /99/ A widow may marry again and again. Furthermore, she can have a husband marry into her household.

(3) Birth

842 [782] 843 844 Despite the hard life of the Miao, the desire for sons is very strong with both rich and poor. When a Miao man has no son at middle age he must pray to the gods and make a vow, for the early birth of a son. A pregnant Miao woman keeps on working. At the time of delivery, they use a bamboo sifter placed on the ground, lined with cotton wadding on which is placed a layer of ragged garments. The woman stands with her legs apart, the body slightly bending, her two hands gripping the side of a bed or a bench. If she happens to be working on a mountainside and does not have time to get back home, then she chooses a place under the shade of a tree where she can easily get a grip. If the newborn child does not cry, she digs [825] out a blood clot from its mouth, or sometimes she keeps a cat ready on the side, and hits it to make it meow so as to startle 845 the infant awake. In case of complicated childbirth, an experienced old woman in the village is asked to help extract the child with the hands. Should an infant die in the womb, it is taken out with a hook, or sometimes a sorcerer priest is

/129 cont./

*782 Although the routine sacrifice is not held for any particular reason, its object is nevertheless the avoidance of calamities and the seeking of blessings. The "Sacrifice to the Ancestors" and "Eating Pigs" of the Miao religion and the "Local Divinity [177] of the Soil" and the "Flying Mountain" ceremonies of the guest religion are all for the purpose of beseeching the kuei not to make trouble and seeking their protection. The special sacrifices for the avoidance of calamities may be divided into [755] four categories: (1) for seeking a cure upon suffering illness; [783] (2) for seeking cleansing after seeing a supernatural phenomenon [777] or after any unlucky matter; (3) for seeking the resolution of a conflict that has arisen; (4) for seeking pardon for sins after [783] death. Those sacrifices for the invocation of blessings may be [556] divided into two categories: (1) to ask for wealth; (2) to ask [842] for children. But there are many ceremonies which on one hand are to avoid calamities, and /130/ at the same time are also ones which seek blessings. "Bludgeoning the Ox" of the [755] Miao religion can be performed both for the cure of sickness [842] and can also be performed to ask for children. "Redeeming a [177] Vow to the No" of the guest religion may be performed for the cure of illness or to ask for wealth or children, or can be performed for all of these .

Among the 16 ceremonies of sacrifice to the kuei of the Miao religion that we were able to investigate, the "Sacrifice" [755] to the "Ancestors" and "Eating Pigs" are routine sacrifices; "Ta Chia Hsien," "Redeeming the Soul," "Sacrifice to the Kuei of Pimples," and "Bludgeoning the Ox" are for seeking cures for sickness; the "Ta Kan Lo," "Sending Away the Supernatural Forces of the Old Tree," "washing the cat," and "wash- [783] ing the house" are for seeking cleansing after seeing a strange [777] phenomenon or something unlucky; "Eating Blood" is for seeking resolution of a conflict that has arisen; and "Releasing the Soul of the Dead from Suffering" is for asking forgiveness of a dead person's sins. All the above, except for "Bludgeoning [842] the Ox," which asks for a son at the same time, are ceremonies performed for the avoidance of calamities.

/140 cont./

755 After the incantation, divination with chiao is performed
*782 for every member of the family. Next, divination is performed
[787] to see whether the kuei have gone. If the kuei have gone, then the guests taste a little of the pork, and then return home, carrying with them their share of the meat. At this time the sorcerer-priest and the host both cannot eat the pork. The sorcerer-priest has to collect all the paper kuei, paper flags, and paper money, and burn them up on the main road. Meanwhile, the host kills the two chickens and cooks them, and waits for the sorcerer-priest to come back so that they may eat it together.

/141/ (4) Bludgeoning the Ox

755 Bludgeoning the Ox is called in the Miao language
*782 /kuei yiei/, meaning the "kuei of the water buffalo," and is
842 the greatest of all Miao sacrificial rites. When a Miao is seriously
[787] ill and it is found through divination that the kuei of the water
[776] buffalo is causing the trouble, or when a person is childless by
[231] middle age and it is divined that the water buffalo kuei is preventing the Queen of the Nether World at South Heaven Gate to send forth a child, a Miao sorcerer is invited to the house to burn beeswax, to beat gong and drum, and to make a great vow to bludgeon an ox. After the vow is made, if the sickness has been cured or the son sought is born, it is then believed that the kuei of the ox has bestowed it. Then, it becomes necessary to make
*782 preparations to fulfill the vow to bludgeon an ox. The selection of the water buffalo to buy is most important. It is necessary to select a water buffalo with the four quarters having four spirals /?/ and the ears, eyes, mouth, nose, horns, and hoofs must be right and complete. Sometimes it is very difficult to buy such an animal, and when found, the price is always prohibitive. If the host succeeds in buying a water buffalo at the market, then someone is sent home ahead to carry the news, so that the members of the family can prepare gongs and drums to meet the ox halfway. When the ox is led into the house, the gongs and drums stop, and

/177 cont./

(22) Putting up an Earth Bridge

*782 842 If after a childless Miao has made a vow to the shen for a son, and still a child is not born, then the ceremony of Putting up an Earth Bridge is performed in order to make a bridge down to earth for the son in heaven, so that he can descend.

[785] The host selects an auspicious day and regulates his thoughts, fasts, and bathes. Before the date he prepares a stone slab about 60 cm. long, 30 cm. wide, and 5 cm. thick. Four perpendicular lines are chiseled on the slab, dividing it into five sections. He also uses five branches of a fruit-bearing tree, the size of each branch being equal to that of one section on the stone slab. On the principal day the stone slab and the tree branches are buried inside the door near the middle of the threshhold. A square table is used, on which are

*782

Illus. 74. Sacrifice to Lu Pan.

*782 842 placed five stacks of paper money, a sheng of uncooked rice in which are stuck three sticks of incense and a pair of candles, five piles of mi-pa, a bowl of cooked tofu, and five cups of wine. There are also a

/177 cont./
*782 few coins inside the sheng of rice. The sorcerer-priest in plain
● 842 clothes and holding the ritual knife and chiao-tzu utters an in-
*[787] cantation and divines, pours the wine and states the reason. After having divined again for when a son is to be born, he burns the paper to send off the shen. After the sorcerer-priest takes a rest, he next performs the Nuan No.

(23) Nuan No

[776] /178/ When the No shen /a god who drives away pestilence/ has been offended, (for details see "Huan No Yüan") if the time for Huan No Yüan is still far away, then they must do this. Also every ninth day of the ninth lunar month is the day when the No shen comes down, and the third day of the third month is the day when this shen goes up to heaven, and some people hold the same ritual on either one of these two dates. Also the ritual of Putting Up an Earth Bridge has to be followed by the performance of Nuan No. It is held during the daytime, with a square table placed in the back half of the main house. On the table are set five cups of wine, five piles of mi-pa, and a sheng of rice on which there are some coins, incense, and candles. There are also two stacks of paper money, a bowl of meat with a little salt on it and a pair of chopsticks balancing on it. The sorcerer-priest wears plain clothes and a red head kerchief, and, holding the ritual knife and the chiao-tzu, he utters the same incantation as that for Putting Up an Earth Bridge. After he has finished he burns the paper to send off the shen.

(24) Huan No Yüan

175 Huan No Yuan /"fulfilling the No vow"/ is fulfilling a
*782 vow to the No shen. The origin of No is very ancient. The
776 "Hsiang Tang" chapter of the Lun Yü says: "When the villagers drove away the demons of pestilence /no/, they dressed in formal robes and stood on the eastern steps." After the Ch'in and Han

/178 cont./

175 dynasties, the records contain many references to it. The
*782 ancient meaning of No was to drive away the kuei of pestilence.
776 In the Lun Yü I Su, Liang Huang-k'an says: "The no-no sound is uttered to fight the kuei of pestilence." In the Chou Li and the "Yüeh Ling" section of the Li Chi, no is written with the character nan /'difficult'/, while Chiao Te-hsing used the character yang /'to drive out demons'/. They must be the same word. (1)

[113]

1. See Chiang Liang-fu: No K'ao /The Study of No/, in Min Tsu, Vol. 2, No. 10.

Cheng Hsüan makes the commentary: "Yang is a powerful kuei." Liu Pao-nan in his Lun yü Cheng I says: "The powerful kuei are the kuei of pestilence.... When we refer to the kueis' name, we say yang; when we speak of driving these kuei away, then we say no. Afterward the name of the kuei was used for the name of the sacrifice." Today, however, when the Miao fulfill a vow to the
776 No shen, it is something quite different. They consider the
*782 brother and sister in the story of the Flood (see the chapter, "Folk
[773] Tales," /not translated/) to be the No shen, calling them Duke No and Mother No. When the members of a family have trouble, such as the six domestic animals not increasing, the five grains not being fruitful, financial misfortune, the prevalence of pestilence, and other calamities, quarrels, and seeing extraordinary
*[787] phenomena, if the sorcerer-priest finds through divination that the trouble is due to the No shen having been offended, it becomes necessary to promise to fulfill a vow to the No shen. Moreover,
[842] a family without children wishing to seek a child must seek to fulfill a vow to the No shen; and if a family at the end of the year has lived contentedly without any trouble, it also considers this a gift of the No shen, and must make a vow to the No and fulfill it.

*782 The time for fulfilling vows to the No is between the ninth day of the ninth lunar month and the end of the lunar year, which may be said to be the season for fulfilling vows. It may also take

½ [for this ritual see cat. 116, pp 277-280. - ANALYST]

/183 cont./

*782 drum are beaten and the horn blown. The sorcerer-priest, candle in hand, faces the No shen. After he has once more uttered the k'ai-kuang incantation, he sticks the candle in the candlestick, takes up two hsien-feng banners, blows the horn and waves the banners, three times in all. When the waving of the banners and the beating of gong and drum cease, he sings out magic words invoking the shen before the Peach Spring cave. After one passage is sung, he beats the drum and gong, blows the horn, and waves the banners, three times. Then the drum and gong are silenced, and facing the Peach Spring cave he continues to sing, accompaning the singing with the gesture of sweeping something outdoors and sweeping something in. Raising the banners with both hands, he also makes the gestures of opening doors to the right and left, and then he deposits the banners in the hands of Duke No and Mother No, followed by gesticulating along with the phrases sung. When this is over, he does the three-step walk; facing outside, next facing inside, he recites and gesticulates, and does the three-step walk. Afterward facing the five directions, east, south, west, north, and center, utters incantations and does the three-step walk. Then he uses the whip to draw the character for a well in the eastern corner, and then turns to the Peach Spring cave to lay down the whip and pick up the chiao-tzu, inviting the shen to dismount. Lighting three sticks of incense, he leads the host to worship the shen. Next he utters *[787] another incantation and divines with the chiao. When the yin chiao appears it indicates Duke No has dismounted. The yang chiao indicates Mother No has dismounted, and the sheng chiao, the dismounting of the San Ch'ing /the Taoist trinity/. [776] Then he invites the ancestors of the family and other shen to dismount, following with the incantation to disrobe, and the ritual terminates.

*782 The tenth part is the seeking of a son. (This is performed only for a host without a son.) In front of the Peach Spring cave ● 842 is set up a long table about ten chang long, spread with blue or green cloth, red and white being avoided. The sorcerer-priest wears a red garment, a red headkerchief, fancy headgear, and the willow towel on his back. Standing before the long table in front

/183 cont./

*782 ●842 of the Peach Spring cave, he sings the secret words to seek a son, announcing at the same time the eight cyclical characters appertaining to the date and hour of birth of the host. After the singing, the gong and the drum are sounded, and the sorcerer-priest blows the horn three times, after which he holds a cane and utters the incantation for hiding the body. After every two sentences, he blows the horn once and moves up forward one step; after another sentence he gives another blow of the horn and again moves up forward another step. Thus, uttering a sentence then blowing the horn, he walks up to the table. He does the three-step walk on the table and recites the incantation for "building the bridge." After one passage, the sorcerer-priest takes the ritual knife which is in his right hand, and hangs it on his right wrist, while the horn leans against the crook of the arms, and continues the incantation, gesticulating at the same time according to the meaning of the words of the incantation. He recites a passage and makes gestures in each of the five directions, east, south, west, north, and center. On finishing each passage, he must blow the horn once. After the five directions have been done, he again faces the Peach Spring cave, and raps the horn with one chiao-tzu held in the right hand, while the gong and drum are also sounded, and utters an incantation. After a passage, holding the willow towel in his left hand and the ritual knife in his right hand, he waves three times with both hands upward, downward, left, and right. /184/ The gong and drum are then silenced and the incantation for pledging in wine is said. After the incantation, the host and the hostess, carrying prayer boxes on their backs, kneel down separately at both sides of the long table, the man to the left and the woman to the right. The sorcerer-priest kneels on the table, reading a petition asking for a son, the couple paying respects along with the sorcerer-priest. After the petition has been read, the sorcerer-priest picks up the chiao-tzu in his right [787] hand and utters one more passage of an incantation, and then divines with the chiao-tzu. After seeking and obtaining the the sheng chiao, he utters another passage, and divines again,

/184 cont./

*782 842 *787 seeking the sheng chiao, to recognize that the shen have accepted the petition. Further incantations are recited by the sorcerer-priest, who kneels and makes obeisance after every sentence, with the host and hostess following suit. He divines again to inquire the date when the son will be born. Then he utters the chiao-na /"to entertain"/ incantation, after which he divines again, either the sheng chiao or yin chiao being considered satisfactory. If the yang chiao appears, he must divine again. He then utters the kow-hsiao /"cancelling"/ incantation and requests the shen to heed the incantation. After the sheng chiao is sought and obtained, the gong and the drum are sounded, and the host and hostess kneel on the ground while the sorcerer-priest stands up and blows the horn. The helper burns the petition as well as the prayer boxes carried on the backs of the host and hostess. A face basin is provided, filled with clear water and on which there is a board. The burning petition and prayer boxes are placed on the board to let the ashes fall into the water. The sorcerer-priest throws the willow towel on his shoulders; his ritual knife hangs on his right wrist, and the horn leans in the crook of his arms; the fingers of his two hands are together, with the two thumbs turning in circles, which means wheeling in wealth for the shen. Then he does the three-step walk and utters the incantation for wheeling in money. After the incantation he divines with the chiao, and when the sheng chiao is obtained, he blows the horn, after which he picks up a bowl, in which he throws several grains of rice. Then he deposits 12 previously written tickets for drawing lots in the bowl with the rice and puts a bowl cover on it. This is called the yin-yang bowl. The sorcerer-priest holds the bowl with both hands, shaking it as he calls out the names of the various shen. After this, he puts a large winnowing basket under the long table, and another man opens a parasol, and rotates it from left to right above the tray. The sorcerer-priest lifts the cover a bit and shakes it incessantly above the parasol to let the tickets and rice fall out on the parasol and then run down the parasol to fall into the winnowing basket. Then the host and the

/184 cont./

*782 hostess are each asked to draw a ticket. The sorcerer-priest
●842 then divines with the chiao, and when the sheng chiao is ob-
*787 tained, he looks at the characters on the ticket to decide whether it is auspicious or inauspicious, disaster or good fortune. If the yin chiao or yang chiao is obtained, then the tickets are thrown back into the yin-yang bowl to be shaken again and drawn again. The characters written on the tickets are generally as follows: 1) five males, two females, 2) seven sons all united, 3) five sons will pass the examinations, 4) long life, wealth, honor, 5) sons and grandsons will fill the hall, 6) all requests will be granted, 7) the five grains will be fruitful, 8) the six domestic animals will increase, 9) the melon vines will spread continuously, 10) I alone will be denied, 11) whatever is sought is not granted, 12) what difficulties! When a ticket showing sons is obtained, the helper immediately gets a little No on a small chair to the right outside the door, names the No child, wraps it to make a bundle, and with both hands lifts it up and walks across the yin bridge to bring it to the hands of Mother No, and then carries it in his arms to the hostess. The host and the hostess both pay their respects to it and rise. The hostess carries the No child in her arms to the bed. The sorcerer-priest blows the horn facing out the door, /185/ and utters the incantation for looking and shutting the door. As he recites he gesticulates and after blowing once on the horn, he grasps a cane and lays it crosswise on the ground, utters an incantation, and divines. After he gets the yang chiao or the sheng chiao, he blows the horn. His helper gathers up the items on sacrifice, and after some more reciting by the sorcerer the ritual ends.

*782 The eleventh part[1] is Ch'üan Chiu /"pledging in wine"/.
273 The sorcerer with his head wrapped in a red kerchief and wearing the willow towel on his back, sits in front of the Peach Spring cave and sings the magic words for pledging in wine. After singing two sentences, he beats the gong and drum seven or eight times. After one passage is sung, two helpers each brings up to the Peach Spring cave a small winnowing basket, which contains roasted corn, soy beans, and an item of silver jewelry as well as

1 [of the Huan No Yüan ceremony - ANALYST]

[27 cont.]

756 all diseases are caused by evil spirits, and to expel them is to
755 rid oneself of the diseases. In case of slight indisposition one's family members would burn incense and paper to drive away the wild ghost. But in case of serious sickness [28] the evil workings of an important ghost are presumed and it is necessary to get hold of a priest to slaughter an animal and to employ magic in order to achieve the desired end.

2) To pray for a son. If man is without a child at the age
756 of forty-three or forty-four he can ask a priest to appeal to the
842 Jade Emperor for a son (the Miao do not believe in the Son-awarding Bodhisattva), or to enter the mountain to pray to a huge rock, the spirit of which is said to be able to award a child. So, in the second and the tenth month, incense is burned continuously to the rock spirit. At the time of worship two bowls of glutinous rice, five or six sticks of red incense, eight to sixteen fish as well as candles and paper money are used.

3) To arrest the soul. If a person is pale, thin and
756 dispirited or overtaken by serious sickness without being able to
774 get up, the conclusion is that it is an omen of the impending
[787] departure of the soul. A priest is engaged to appear before Yen-wang (the king of Hades) to arrest the soul and bring it back. In so doing, it is necessary to slaughter a pig for sacrifice before Yen-wang. After the soul is arrested all the relatives contribute from ten or twenty cents to a dollar or two toward a fund for the making of a necklace or a bracelet, called respectively the life-preserving chain or the hundred-family lock, for wear by the stricken person. At the same time a string of bamboo rings is hung crosswise at the gate together with a piece of charm to indicate that the soul is locked in and prevented from escaping again. Sometimes, a bad harvest is also attributed to the disappearance of the soul, and the priest is asked to slaughter a duck to summon it back.

4) To arrest the ghost. In cooking rice, when the pan
756 shrieks, or when the bucket in which the rice is steamed issues
[787] a shrilling sound, it indicates the presence of a ghost. The priest is asked to slaughter a cow for sacrifice, because this ghost is the thunder demon, the greatest of all ghosts, and to

[196 cont.]

Locations	Dates	Tribes
527 Flower Dance Hill 535 Outside North Gate	First month, 4th, 5th, 6th	Hua Miao
[?] -chou in the Third District	First month: 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th	Ch'ing Miao
Chiang-chia-Ma-lung in the Fourth District	First month: 6th	Hua Miao
Ping-chai in the Fourth District	First month: 8th	Hua Miao
Chung-yü-shan in the Fourth District	First month: 10th	Hua Miao

Among the above locations the dancing areas at the Flower Dance Hill belonging to the Hua Miao and the Upper Village belonging to the Ch'ing Miao are the largest. The dates set for such occasions are not subject to change, wind or rain notwithstanding. On the day of the dance all the community, without regard to wealth, age or sex, go to the appointed place in groups. The festivity of the occasion can well be imagined. The following is a detailed description of the flower dance.

A. The Method of the Flower Dance. 1) The Flower Slope and the Flower Tree. When the Miao perform the flower dance they use the flower slope and the flower tree. The flower slope is the place where they dance, also called the "Hua-ch'ang" [flower yard], located on a hill in the neighborhood of a village, or half-way up a hill, or on level ground. The owner of the land where the dance takes place is known as the "flower host," generally a very influential person of the area. The land chosen for the flower slope has a quality of permanency. Before the flower dance is held, the slope is decorated with a tree of about a dozen feet in height, known as the "flower tree." One day before the event the flower host, blowing a trumpet, would welcome the tree to the flower slope, preferably a tree with green branches and leaves on the top. It is best when the tree is stolen from

527
535
842

[196 cont.]
535 somebody else's land and duly cursed by him. The flower trees in
527 the various flower slopes are changed either once a year or [197]
942 once every few years, depending upon whether some family would receive the tree after the dance. If a childless couple in the Miao village near the flower slope should give a feast for the guests to receive the tree into their home, the host would be happy to have the tree removed. The following year a new flower tree would be found for the slope. At the same time the family receiving the tree would make its timber into a bed. When the childless couple sleep in this bed they would become fertile and produce a son.

535 2) Participants. When a certain area holds a flower dance,
527 men and women, old and young, from all the villages nearby would come in bands. Young men and women would carry bundles on their backs, and on approaching the flower slope the men would open them and change into new clothes and nailed boots, with short flutes dangling around the waist, and leather or wooden bags hanging behind. As headgear they use pheasant
[301] feathers adorned with strips of colored cloth streaming in the air. They carry in their hands five-pipe or six-pipe bamboo-wind instruments [lu-sheng]. The women also change into new clothes,
[292] new skirts and jackets of bright patterns. The Chinese merchants of the area would establish stalls to sell candies, fruits and toys. Arriving at the flower slope the men would surround the flower tree in a circle, dancing as they move along and playing the bamboo-wind instruments. Listening to the music, the dancers would make noise by stamping their nailed shoes on the ground as they dance along in a rhythmic din. After circling a few times, the paired dancers fall into line, making the steps now left, now right, and now making a break as they follow the cadence of the music. First the men play bamboo wind instruments and later the women play mouth organs. The crowd dances around the tree a few times or as many as a dozen times. Outside the slope still others would play clarinets [so-na, a type of clarinet], bamboo wind instruments, and flutes, forming bands by themselves. The women often form groups of their own. Some

[197 cont.]

527 would just cluster around and watch, while others would disperse
535 to sing and joke and play mouth organs. The noises on the slope soon become confused as the festivity wears on. After the dance the old and the middle-aged would form groups to help themselves with refreshments while the young men and women would scatter to the high cliffs and wilderness to sing and talk, such laxity being altogether permissible on this day.

527 B. The Purposes of the Flower Dance. 1) The Belief in
535 a Prosperous Harvest. The Miao have no other pursuits besides
241 agriculture, and in case of famine there are no means to maintain livelihood. So during the first month when there is a respite between farm activities they hold the flower dance to pray for a bountiful year with an adequate rainfall to bring about a rich harvest in all the grain. This superstitious belief is not only indulged in by the Miao, but shared by the local Chinese as well. Therefore, in case that the Miao themselves cannot maintain
[648] order at the dancing slope, the Chinese [198] are always ready to offer help. Sometimes the Chinese are even willing to put up the money for the flower slope and welcome the Miao to the dance as a prosperous harvest benefits all the people concerned.

527 2) The Belief in the Acquisition of a son. The Miao of
535 the area believe firmly that the flower dance facilitates child-
842 birth. So at the dance one often sees couples wearing unembroidered jackets with blankets on their back for, it is said, after the flower dance the conception of a child is most likely. There are also couples who after being childless for a long time, welcome the flower tree to their house and give feasts at great expense to entertain visitors. When the tree arrives at the gaily decorated house, it is received to the accompaniment of firecrackers and instrumental music from the lu-sheng and so-na. The hosts kneels down to welcome the tree and blesses it with many lucky words in anticipation of a son. This is another reason why the Hua Miao perform the flower dance.

527 3) The Selection of a Mate. Many Miao choose their
535 partners in life at the flower dance, and many parents follow
584 their sons and daughters to the scene to observe whether the ones selected are satisfactory. After the event they would ask a

A /35 cont./
M outbreak of serious /36/ illness, it is his business to have the
596 shaman summoned and then to play the role of assistant in his
756 performances.

d) Age Classes, Clans, Secret Societies, Rank Organization

A Secret societies and clubs, as well as age-class organiza-
M tions are unknown among both peoples. Neither among the
571 Meau nor among the Akha did I find any indication of the
114 existence of a clan /Klan/ system or of individual clans.
614 Nevertheless, ancient Chinese sources often mention clans among the various Meau tribes (1). Also in the works of French

1. Eberhard, II, p. 274.

authors the term comes up occasionally. In the latter cases one can easily see that the authors confuse clan and sib, that is, they use the term "clan" in place of "sib." Possibly the Chinese authors also use "clan" in a different sense than it is used in German ethnography. There are no guilds, organizations of merchants or craftsmen, ranks, castes, or nobility.

M Among the Meau, in addition to the free there are also
592 the unfree, who, however, are not to be confused with slaves.
[736] In the case of the unfree, it is rather a matter of Meau who are alone, whose relatives have died as a consequence of war, sickness, or old age, and who, having grown up within the unit of the large family, now have no possibility of enduring the struggle for existence as solitary individuals. In the forests of Farther India the isolated individual is not equal to the struggle for existence. The larger the community, the easier is the struggle for survival. The Meau is well aware of this fact and
M strives at all costs to enlarge the community. Thus it is the
● [842] self-evident aim of the Meau to have as many children as
M possible, and he demands ten children and more from each of
[737] his wives! Despite the great fertility, however, there are

39: Bernatzik--75 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/48/ Chapter 7

Life in the Community

a) Birth

527 The day on which a child is born is an important day in
[842] the life of the Meau and one that the parents look forward to with longing. Even later on, the birthdays within the family are always festive days, an observation that Lajonquière (1)

1. II, p. 317.

also made.

844 Among the Meau, when the time of delivery comes, the woman squats on the ground next to the bed, and the husband supports her so that she does not topple over. Among men of
[556] some means, a mat forms the underlayer; otherwise leaves suffice. The husband catches the child, ties the umbilical cord, severs it with a pair of scissors, and washes the child with warm water. The child is not yet swaddled, however. If the husband has not yet experienced a confinement, the parents help him. Midwives are unknown. The placenta and
[846] umbilical cord are preserved in a bamboo which, in the case of a boy, is buried next to the middle post of the house, in the case of a girl under the bed of the parents, always about three-quarters of a meter deep. When I inquired as to the reasons for this distinction, I was told: "A girl leaves the house when she marries and from then on belongs to the other family; a boy, however, stays in the house and augments the prosperity of the family." My Meau informants did not know why the afterbirth is dealt with in such a manner. They also believed that it would not matter if an animal were to devour the afterbirth, /49/ for an evil spirit would certainly not do this, since it would not
[778] taste good to him. Even today, however, the Meau still do this as their ancestors did and in accordance with tradition.

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M 153 [842] The suckling period lasts from three to four years, an observation also confirmed by Lajonquière (4). The ability to

4. II, p. 317.

conceive, however, cannot be decisively influenced by this, for I have frequently seen children three years old and older push aside a smaller sibling in order to get at the mother's breast.

/50/ Wet nurses are unknown. On a number of occasions I saw mothers who did not have enough milk desperately try to feed their children with all kinds of additional foods, especially rice and sugar. There was never any thought of using a wet nurse. Since the Meau do not drink animal milk (cf. the M [272] chapter, "Religion and Magic," section on "Cult and Taboo"), such children die of starvation in all such cases.

A 842 527 Among the Akha, too, the birth of a child is awaited with joy, but a celebration of the birthday in later years is unknown.

A 844 Childbirth takes place, as among the Meau, in the dwelling, but on the bed itself. The husband, however, plays no role. Instead, the woman in labor is assisted by the mothers of the married couple. Other women are excluded, midwives are likewise unknown. While giving birth, the Akha woman squats in an erect position and is supported by the two older women. The umbilical cord, after it is tied, is severed with a bamboo knife.

A 844 846 [825] The afterbirth and the umbilical cord are buried under the bed of the woman in confinement, and, to be sure, under the head end of the woman. Once a day for ten days hot water is poured over the spot in order to prevent insects and especially termites from consuming what has been buried, for the Akha believe that, if this should happen, the newborn child would die.

AKha A04
Miao AE5

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A M 842 The birth of boys is much preferred to that of girls by the men of both peoples, because boys strengthen their own family community, whereas girls strengthen a foreign one. Meau mothers wish for an equal number of sons and daughters. A M 858 Nevertheless, the preference for boys does not go as far as some authors assume. Contrary to their views, I often had the opportunity to observe that both parents were touchingly affectionate toward children of both sexes, and sick girls were treated just as well as sick sons. M [164] [123] One of my Meau informants, for instance, had an eighteen-year-old daughter who had an especially sensitive skin which reacted to the prevalent scabies with a form of dermatitis. Her father repeatedly came to me, asked me to cure his daughter, and promised to give me anything I wanted.

b) Naming and Admission into the Family Community

M 851 The solemn admission into the family community takes place among the Meau on the third day after the birth, not counting that day. Dhuraratsadorn (1) reports in this connection

1. Page 173.

that three to /52/ seven days after the birth a sacrificial festival is held for the spirits of the clouds. Presumably he is referring to the ceremony which I shall describe below on the basis of my own observations and experiences. Savina (1) describes the

1, II, p. 225.

ceremony somewhat differently: "Do not ask what the baby is called. It does not yet have a name. For the moment it is called 'the one who cries.' In the case of some tribes the nearest relatives come on the third day to greet the child and to give it a chicken and a cap. Coins, the teeth and claws of animals, and the like are often hung on these caps. The chickens

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Miao AE5

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In addition to the name which every person receives at the time of admission into the family community, every man is given a second name by his father-in-law after the birth of his first child. Telford (3) /see footnote 3 above/ writes: "He is given part of the father's name."

Among the Akha, too, a definite distinction is made between names for boys and for girls, but unlike the situation among the Meau they do not have any special meaning and are merely names:

Boys' names are: tšǒpă, tšŏnium, tšǫnkǫ́.

Girls' names are: minyu, tšopyǫ́, mĭnắ.

/56/ c) Children

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The villages of the Meau and even more those of the Akha are teeming with children, which is not surprising in view of the fertility of these peoples. True, the hygienic conditions, especially in the villages of the Meau, are as unfavorable as can be imagined (cf. the chapter, "Medicine"), in striking contrast to the impression given by the well-fed, contented children.

As soon as the little ones begin to crawl and to walk and thus come in contact with soil, dust, and soot, they are permanently covered with a thick crust of dirt, so that their true skin color is no longer recognizable. Their little noses run, their hair is unkempt and dirty, the remains of food stick to their little fingers -- but all this does not prompt the mother to wash the child. Meau children are usually clothed only in faded rags which once were part of the clothing of adults (Ill. 67 and 68). Even the articles of clothing made especially for the child, however, are soon entirely in a state of neglect due to the liveliness of the children and the complete lack of repair and scarcely fulfill the purpose of covering the body. Only a festive day provides an occasion for every child to have new clothing, to be washed, and to be combed, but this only happens

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[see cat. 116, p511- ANALYST]

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A 857 [231] A M [516] Play with lizards and insects, such as beetles and butterflies, is seen much more rarely than among the Meau. In all such cases, however, the game ends with the merciless chopping up of the animal, although the children of the Akha have scarcely less manual dexterity than those of the Meau. The Akha children evidently never hit upon the idea that one could talk with the animals, much less the idea that the animals could understand them.

6. In the Family

A M 596 [591] The organization of the family is exactly the same among the Akha and Meau. The unit is the large /extended/ family /Grossfamilie/. The sons marry early and, with wife and children, live in the house of their father up to a certain time, as has already been discussed in detail (see the chapter, "Social Organization," section on "Family Units").

A M 595 Savina (1) attributes monogamy to the Meau. Undoubtedly, however,

1. II, p. 184.

however, polygamy is involved here; indeed, it is even more common among the Meau than among the Akha. Even though the poorer people live monogamously, this is the case among almost all polygamous peoples. The decisive point is simply the legally permitted form of marriage, and the fact that polygamy is permitted cannot be denied.

A M 183 842 163 M 595 596 For both peoples the ideal of life is to be blessed with as many children as possible. Thus the number of children living in each house is considerable. The Akha are even more prolific than the Meau. Among them almost every small /nuclear/ family /Kleinfamilie/ consisted of the parents and eight to twelve children. Naturally, the difference in age between the oldest and the youngest child in a house is very great. One Meau, for instance, /77/ who lived with two wives in one house, had eleven children, six of whom were already married and, with their wives and children, no longer lived

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836 With regard to the boys, however, the parents are
[562] positively proud of the successes of their sons in this respect. The chief, Tsin Tsai, for instance, told me that his second youngest son was especially clever with the girls. He had surely inherited this from him, because in his youth he had been called a "tiger among the girls"!

848 It is strange that illegitimate children are relatively
[842] rare, although I was repeatedly told that no contraceptive devices are used. If a girl gives birth to an illegitimate child, however, the families concerned immediately change their attitude, /93/ and the parents of the lovers forcefully insist on the marriage of the young people. The girl is ready for this under all circumstances, but it sometimes happens that a young
[626] man wants to evade his obligation. In this case both families put such pressure upon him that he practically always gives in.
[684] If not, he is obliged to pay any indemnity that the girl's parents demand. If he is not in a position to do this, he has to marry for otherwise he would be severely punished by the chief of the village.

627 If a young man should deny paternity, the testimony of
848 the girl, or the young mother, is valid in doubtful cases. She summons her parents and those of the young man and leads them to the place where she had her meetings with the young man. She describes details which almost always force the young man to withdraw his denials. Moreover, in the generally small communities, it is probably always known "with whom a girl is going," as my informants said. On the other hand, if the
[851] seducer pays the price asked by the girl's parents, the matter is regarded as settled, and the illegitimate child remains with the family of the mother and belongs to this family.

114 In contrast to my observations, separate authors report
847 that the Meau try to get rid of illegitimate children through
848 abortion or at the latest after the birth. Lajonquière (1),

1. II, p. 317.

for instance, writes: "If a child is conceived out of wedlock,

AKha A04
Miao AE5

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M 114 847 848 an attempt is made, with the help of medicines, to bring about an abortion. If this is unsuccessful, the child is abandoned after birth and dies of hunger." These statements, which Abadie (2) repeats verbatim, do not agree, as has been said.

2. Page 165.

with my findings.

M 827 582 [163] Among the Meau the average age of marriage for the young men is between sixteen and seventeen, that of the girls about four years later.

In explanation of this age difference, I was told that it is only after this age that a girl's body is strong enough to bear without harm the minimum of ten children expected of a woman. Earlier births are said to weaken the organism, and the women turn into invalids and are no longer able to do the proper amount of work. The /94/ young men, on the other hand, are able to beget strong children at a much earlier age.

M 595 [152] [554] As a consequence of this attitude the first wife of a Meau is generally older, more mature, and stronger than her husband. The younger, later wives can therefore be all the more easily absorbed into the household, especially since jealousy plays no role at all. The first wife is the chief wife, to whom all the other wives are subordinate in every respect. Accordingly, she has a position of trust within the community.

A 864 [513] [893] A M [842] A 836 Among the Akha the father sleeps with the unmarried sons, the mother with the unmarried girls, each in one room of the dwelling. During the night the father visits the mother, or vice versa, "when everybody is asleep," as my informant put it. Thus, even in the parents' house there is no barrier to prevent the children from observing sexual activities from the earliest age. Like the Meau, the Akha, too, are well acquainted with the physiological aspect of paternity. Nevertheless sexual freedom for unmarried persons prevails among them

39: Bernatzik--607 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
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114 mentions that Vicomte D'Ollone, on the basis of his voyages
212 of exploration through unknown areas of China in the years
[175] 1906 to 1909, confirmed that the Meau not only had writing, but also written traditions. A writing peculiar to the Meau is also mentioned by another party (6), but these very general

6. Nan-chao, pp. 187 ff.

[173] remarks could not be verified. Other authors report that the Meau, according to their oral traditions, had had writing, to be sure, but had lost it. Such a tradition was not known to the Meau in Thailand visited by me. For the time being, I regard solely the statements of the older authors about the occasional use of Chinese characters as probable; the publications of D'Ollone were not available to me up to the time of publication of the present work.

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Chapter 30

Statistical and Demographic Data and Differences between the Various Meau and Akha Tribes

161 The history of the Meau shows that they were driven
175 out of their original homeland and in places were completely
648 destroyed. To be sure, this destruction was primarily an ethnic and not a biological death. Thus, it is certain that the southern Chinese have absorbed a considerable amount of Meau blood. In this case, however, the Meau have disappeared as an ethnic unit, so that their descendants do not in any way differ culturally from the Chinese.

161 Wherever the Meau were not destroyed by violent measures on the part of their neighbors, however, they have increased greatly and quickly, although, to be sure, epidemics and famines occasionally interrupted this rapid increase in population. At any rate the large number of offspring (an
[163] average of seven children per family in my area of work) and
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161 the lack of any birth control, given the possibility for development in a suitable climate, have shown themselves to be incomparably stronger than the limiting factors.
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Precise statements concerning the total number of the Meau living today or concerning that of the tribes cannot be made because precise figures are lacking and the estimates available show extremely contradictory results. A distinction must be made here between the Meau faithful to their tribal customs and the groups which have been assimilated by their neighbors. Although the latter are probably incomparably greater in number than the former, they must remain outside of my consideration on account of the lack of any means of dealing with them.

162 The largest, densest Meau groups by far are even today
131 still found in China, and, to be sure, not only in Yunnan, the
[167] province from which in particular the groups that immigrated to Thailand came, /451/ but above all in Kweichow, Kwangsi, and
[648] Honan. These Meau tribes seem to have maintained considerable independence in relation to the Chinese even today. Von Eickstedt, for instance, on page 1 b of his manuscript for the Buschan Festschrift of 1933, reports: "Even now the Miao form the largest and most representative bulk of the so-called southern barbarians of China, in Kweichow still at least half of the population, and actually the only one in the mountains. Indeed, no one knows how many millions are involved, for the Miao do not appreciate it at all if one is too closely concerned about their affairs."

If one compares these statements with the rest of the literature, he can only agree with him. For example, according to Warry (1), who is regarded as an authority by Scott, the

1. Page 598.

Meau make up almost half of the population of Kweichow and are also very widespread in Kwangsi and the neighboring provinces. Betts (2), Edkins (3), and Jaeger (4) make similar

2. Pages 1 ff.